



EDITORIAL

ADIEU

Dear Readers

It is with a melancholic mind that I write this last editorial for the Emerging Powers Newsletter.

Over the past 2 years since joining Fahamu as Research Director of the China in Africa programme I have managed to find my own identity in the China/Emerging Powers in Africa space. When I assumed my position at Fahamu, I realized that the task that lay before me would be both a challenging and rewarding journey ahead. And indeed the experience was precisely that.

The identity of the programme has evolved. Through the support of the Fahamu family, I have been able to nurture a programme into a dynamic initiative that is unique in its own right. The recognition and global profile accorded to the programme for seeking to strengthen the capacity of the African perspective in this regard cannot be ignored since it has become a significant platform for the voice of African Civil Society.

In spite of the teething problems, I have to acknowledge the many people, especially my Fahamu colleagues, who assisted me with the vision of developing and deepening the goals of the China/Emerging Powers in Africa programme. And along the way the many friends and colleagues who understood this vision and provided me with their support and commitment to make the various initiatives of the programme into successful outputs. These individuals indeed make up the China/Emerging Powers in Africa family.

As I move ahead to the next stage of life's journey, the China/Emerging Powers Initiative is also entering

into a new phase of its own by taking into account the new dynamics that have emerged regarding the footprint of China and the other emerging actors in Africa.

The events of North Africa and the Ivory Coast, notwithstanding the post-referendum context in Southern Sudan and the overall contagion effect of peoples' power has definitely raised new impulses for how African civil society seeks to engage and respond to the presence of China and other emerging powers in Africa.

Likewise these actors also face the conundrum of how such events with its global and regional spillovers will shape their Africa policies and domestic environments. Therefore it is with this new era of people's power on the horizon that this edition of the newsletter is dedicated to the 2011 World Social Forum's theme: Another World is Possible.

I wish my colleague Hayley Herman all the best as she continues to keep the fires burning in the programme. And to my Fahamu colleagues as well as friends, donors, partners and collaborators, I want to thank you for a wonderful 2 years.

I am sure this is not a final good-bye as our paths will definitely cross in the future since the world is a small place and we take up the struggle of strengthening the possibility of another world.

Sanusha Naidu
Research Director
Emerging Powers in Africa Programme

© Emerging Powers in Africa Programme, Fahamu Cape Town 2011

IN THIS ISSUE

COMMENTARY

Consolidating the People's Dialogue of the South

By Sanusha Naidu 2

Fahamu African journalist study tour to India: Towards new engagements between Indian and African media

By Hayley Herman 4

Forging civil society cooperation: People-to-people exchanges within the FOCAC framework

By Xiao Yuhua 6

REVIEW

Methodological deficiencies in welcome contribution: Review of China and Congo: Friends in Need

By Johanna Jansson and Wenran Jiang 9

LINKS, RESOURCES & ANNOUNCEMENTS 11

EDITORIAL TEAM

Ms Sanusha Naidu - Research Director
Emerging Powers in Africa Programme
Fahamu- Cape Town
Email: sanusha@fahamu.org

Ms Hayley Herman - Programme Officer
Emerging Powers in Africa Programme
Fahamu-Cape Town
Email: hayley@fahamu.org

Mr Stuart Rothgiesser - Layout Editor
www.stuartrothgiesser.com
Email: stuart@stuartrothgiesser.com

Ms Shifrah Perkel - Graphic Designer
www.insideout.co.za
Email: design@insideout.co.za

For further information on the Emerging Powers in Africa Programme, or submission of commentaries for the newsletter please email Ms Hayley Herman.



More analysis and commentary from Fahamu's Emerging Powers in Africa Programme can be found online in Pambazuka News: www.pambazuka.org/en/category/africa_china/

COMMENTARY

Consolidating the People's Dialogue of the South

By Sanusha Naidu

RECENTLY FAHAMU'S EMERGING Powers in Africa Initiative hosted a roundtable discussion at the 2011 World Social Forum (WSF) in Dakar, Senegal. The WSF provided a significant platform to stimulate and share ideas around what should constitute a People's Dialogue of the South. With the forum representing a plurality of social justice issues that affect the daily lives of societies across the South, the WSF has become a seminal arena in advancing the voice of the dispossessed, economically vulnerable and the socially excluded.

As this was my first time participating at the WSF, it was easy to gauge what the bonds of humanity should really be about, especially as old friends reconnected with one another while new friendships were forged and where a common vision and struggle united participants from various nationalities.

Indeed, the WSF appeared to be the unpolished version of the pristine World Economic Forum. And while the sahel heat of Dakar was no match for the snow capped town of Davos, Dakar definitely created an engaging ambiance that was without the snobbery, frills and class arrogance of the globe's capitalists and industrialists.

With the theme of the WSF being 'Another World is Possible', the Forum symbolized an ideal stage to compute and interrogate how Southern social movements can collaborate and respond to the rise of the South being led by, inter alia, China, India, Brazil, and South Africa.

As these countries begin to forge new alliances through various groupings like the G20, BRIC, IBSA, and the United Nations Security Council, it has become increasingly evident that these countries do not only represent new geo-economic and geo-political impulses, but they also provoke a set of strategic of interests in how they are inadvertently reshaping and influencing the South.

Certainly the new centres of power, which are developing in the South, highlight the fragmentation and heterogeneity of South-South cooperation. With the aforementioned countries beginning to move up the global pecking order, it is, indeed, important to point out that the conceptual idea of the South and the view that the South remains a veritable landscape where all interests are the same and countries are on a level footing has to be interrogated as a school of thought in the over-

riding consideration and discourse on the Rise of the South.

In fact, the prevailing narrative that countries of the South act as one and in the common interests of their citizens belies the class and social contradictions that exist between and amongst Southern actors.

Ravi Palat, a professor of sociology at Binghamton University captured this best in his article: Rise of the Global South and the Emerging Contours of New World Order where he highlighted that: 'neither the Chinese corporations nor the Chinese government has done anything to benefit trade unions or social justice movements in Africa'. This indeed applies not only to China but also to the coterie of Southern actors who have come to identify Africa as the new frontier for doing business.

Palat correctly distinguishes between the behaviour of the various intra and inter state constituencies by questioning the widespread centric view that the South represents a constellation of holistic interests wherein everyone benefits from the Rise of the South equally. It certainly does raise the specter that the current interpretation of South-South cooperation mainly profits the political and economic elites within the South who form elite networks and alliances.

It was precisely for these issues identified above, that the panel organized by Fahamu's Emerging Powers Initiative sought to understand the nuances the new actors from the South bring to the African landscape.

More importantly the panel was aimed at distilling ideas and areas of mutual interest that can assist Southern social movements, community based organizations and activists in uniting around common social justice struggles, which affect both Africa's citizens and their counterparts across the South.

The overarching outcome from the panel was the need to develop a knowledge platform where social movements from the South can share information and experiences from their own societal struggles.

Indeed as the deliberations of the panel deepened it became clear that even before social movements and activists can try and develop intervention strategies in dealing with the rise of the new actors from the South, there needs to be a basic understanding of

what factors have shaped the rise of countries like China and India.

Second, there was consideration around whether there is adequate knowledge of the domestic environments in countries like China and India, especially around how the economic rise has affected the livelihoods of local communities. It was argued that such information would be vital in identifying where the elements of collaboration and common struggles can be strengthened.

Third, there was also the view that while consolidating a people's dialogue of the South was important, it was also critical to determine how this would dovetail with the various interests and donor relationships that the different civil society organizations have. As a point of departure there was an underlying feeling around whether existing donor engagements may actually compromise the integrity and even pull the establishment of a people's dialogue into different avenues.

As one delegate suggested perhaps the way around this is to ensure that such a dialogue remains free of any donor resources.

Nevertheless, the deliberations emanating from the panel discussion provided enough food for thought for the discussants to conclude that setting up of a People's Dialogue of the South around dealing with the nuances underpinning the Rise of the South cannot be ignored.

Most delegates agreed that this was because as countries like China, India, Brazil, and South Africa increase their global profile, there is no guarantee that these countries will behave any differently from their counterparts in the West. Or for that matter challenge the status quo of the international system to benefit the poor of the developing world.

In fact it became a recurrent theme throughout the panel that what needed to be challenged is the imminent danger of the growth trajectory

that is being advocated where the vast majority of communities across the South are being marginalized as a result of the polarized growth phenomenon that widens the gap between the rich and the poor.

The situation in North Africa became a subject of much interest in this regard as it reflects the pending impact of the resource curse and issues of societal frustrations. And notwithstanding the parallels and contagion effects this poses for other countries in Africa and across the South.

Indeed, one pertinent issue arising out of the North Africa protests is how well-prepared the emerging actors from the South are in dealing with the 'people' uprisings. Do the Southern superstars understand the fragility of the political landscape in Africa? Or can they continue to assume that security and stability is always guaranteed by and vests with the government in power who may not have the legitimacy of its people and flagrantly disrespects the will and rights of its people?

Therefore from the panel discussion it became imminently clear that while people from the South are fighting common struggles for social justice, it is also significant to recognise that such struggles must be based on understanding the nature of local conditions and identifying how interventions must be structured. It was agreed by almost all the participants at the panel that the starting point towards the People's Dialogue of the South is the creation of a knowledge platform. Such a platform needs to serve as an information-sharing hub that will be based on the motto: by the people, for the people and of the people of the South.

Sanusha is the former Researcher Director of the Emerging Powers in Africa Initiative based with Fahamu. She has joined the Human Sciences Research Council in South Africa as a senior researcher. She can be contacted at Sanusha.naidu@gmail.com

© Emerging Powers in Africa Programme, Fahamu Cape Town 2011

EMERGING POWERS IN AFRICA PROGRAMME

Steering Committee

Prof Ari Sitas

Prof Li Anshan

Prof Olu Ajakaiye

Dr Renu Modi

Sanusha Naidu

Alexandre Barbosa

Dr Ebrima Sall

Aïssatou Diallo

Prof Kuruvilla Matthews

Dr Xiao Yuhua

Hayley Herman

Mouhamet Lamine Ndiaye

Dr Liu Haifang

Mercia Andrews

John Patrick Ngoyi Kasongo



China/Emerging Powers in Africa programme is a project of Fahamu, Networks for Social Justice
www.fahamu.org

COMMENTARY

Fahamu African journalist study tour to India: Towards new engagements between Indian and African media

By Hayley Herman

THE FAHAMU EMERGING Powers in Africa Initiative conducted its first African journalist study tour to New Delhi from 22-29 January 2011- the second journalist tour organised by the Initiative following the successful completion of a tour to Beijing in 2010. Three African journalists and one African lecturer in communications were selected for the week-long tour that aimed to promote dialogue and networks between African and Indian media and strengthen the development of an objective African voice on reporting on Indo-African relations. Furthermore, by allowing the African journalists the opportunity to engage on issues related to India's engagement with Africa, India's domestic development challenges and foreign policy, the tour hoped to inspire greater coverage of news related to these topics to African readers and audiences.

It became clear from the outset that India has received very little media coverage beyond the catchy headlines that have come to dominate the news as a result of India's well known multinational companies concluding large investment deals on the continent, or official diplomatic heads of state meetings. India's dramatic growth rate and its search for energy sources and raw materials to fuel this growth have been the usual topics of news coverage on the Asian giant, however the story behind the headlines have not received nearly enough attention. For all the MOU's signed and deals confirmed, as one Indian researcher stated "the problem lies with the implementation, what happens to these deals?" reinforcing the experience of the African media representatives who voiced the frustration felt by African journalists in attempting to follow the subsequent developments surrounding these agreements, and holding officials and government to account for these developments. This follows similar discussions during the journalist tour to China where discussions made it clear that media coverage had remained focused on high level developments at a political and economic level, and difficulty African media faced in covering the subsequent developments of large investment deals, or agreements signed by politicians during government visits.

In fact, comparisons between China and India in Africa were brought to the fore constantly as

highlighted particularly by Western media reports. The African journalists were particularly interested in gauging the perceptions of China amongst those they met with, in particular the idea of India competing with China in Africa, as well as the perceptions these two Asian giants have of each other. Questions were asked as to whether India's engagement with Africa has been motivated purely for access to resources, the geopolitical position of Africa in relation to issues of global governance, and ultimately whether India's relations with Africa were indeed different to other emerging actors on the continent. The responses varied from the more diplomatic view that China is "not competition but rather complementary" to India's engagement in Africa, largely referring to China's focus on Africa's infrastructure needs whereas India has historically associated itself with education and technology transfer in particular. Other scholars described the India-Africa Forum Summit as a "knee jerk reaction" to China's increasing foray into Africa, with the Indian government having to "play catch up" to the private sector in India who have thus far led the engagement with Africa. The question related to the implied south-south solidarity between India and Africa, and the perception of India's relationship with Africa being different, or with different motivating factors in its engagement compared to other emerging actors will continue to be asked by Africa's media- is the relationship mutually beneficial? And if so, mutually beneficial for who?

The African journalists brought to the fore a second topic of particular interest during meetings held with academia, think tanks and media representatives, namely that of the Indian diaspora in Africa. With a particularly large Indian diaspora present in Kenya, and Uganda, despite their historical expulsion from the country, the Indian community has been an ethnic group easily identifiable to local Africans. Much like the Chinese communities in Africa, the journalists explained the perception in Africa of these groups maintaining close links to their 'ancestral' home- that these links result in these communities becoming enablers of Indian policy or economic activity in Africa. In fact, the historical disconnect was emphasized to the journalists as many policy makers and academics in India questioned whether such historical ties

were still maintained, especially since the Indian community were already the second or third generation living in these African countries. The idea of seeking a 'face' to India's policy in Africa was summarised well by an Indian scholar who pointed out there was a need for India "to project what the state engagement is doing" in Africa for both Indian citizens and Africans alike. The India-Africa Forum Summit was identified in several instances as an answer to this projection of state engagement.

Another area of similar concern in both the tours to China and India was the lack of media coverage on domestic and social issues faced in each case. Both tours emphasized a lack of coverage by media of local conditions, social concerns and domestic challenges and policy. As a result, African participants expressed their lack of knowledge and understanding of domestic circumstances in China and India, while those we met in China and India voiced their interest in learning more about the lives of African communities. During meetings with students and civil society representatives in China and most recently in India a recurrent message was their interest in knowing more about the face of Africa, behind the high level business and political news they currently receive. India's economic boom has received great media attention, particularly by the western media, and has identified India as an emerging global power. However domestic issues such as poverty alleviation, access to public services, development projects and infrastructure needs are common concerns to both India and African countries. Knowledge and understanding of these issues will assist in bridging the misperceptions towards both sides. These domestic issues also underlie the development of foreign policy, and thus relations between India and Africa.

The lack of African media representation in both China and India was discussed during the respective visits. For example, only three African media representatives were based in China, while the journalists visiting India were surprised to hear that no permanent African media representation currently exists in the country. Similarly, and as a representative from one of the main Indian printed media emphasized, a common area of concern included challenges to motivating media houses to send correspondents to India or Africa particularly due to financial challenges and relative lack of interest amongst journalists to cover these areas. It was interesting to note however that a number of Indian publications expressed their interest in establishing partnerships with African media with the view to develop staff exchanges or to host permanent correspondents. This became a topic of interest during discussions and journalists from both sides were encouraged to follow up on this issue.

Compared to coverage of news from India's neighbouring countries, and the broader Asia region and the west, coverage of Africa receives comparatively less attention. Most editorial space in printed media in India is dedicated to domestic news, followed by news from the region. Very little, if any, news filters through on subjects related to Africa once the publications take into account news from Asia, the west, cultural stories, and science and technology. Thus, both the Indian and African journalists noted their equal reliance on Western media reports when publishing stories related to Africa and India. As an Indian media representative explained, they "don't have direct access to Africa through the media"- the same could be said in the case of African media regarding India.

The upcoming India-Africa Summit Forum to be held in May later this year was highlighted as an opportunity to increase media coverage on developments of common interest. However in the same light, during a meeting with several Indian media representatives and an Indian Ministry the point was made that Indian and African media collaboration should guard against taking an 'event based' approach with engagement targeted towards the developments around a particular (political) activity. Rather, it was recommended that there be focus on a collective effort on the part of the media to create a sustained engagement over time. In essence, such engagement needs to be led by the media houses themselves, something that both the African and Indian representatives agreed would favour the efforts led by civil society organisations to this end, as opposed to the government-led media and journalist exchanges that already exist.

Various opportunities to explore areas of common interest were identified and discussed during the course of the visit to India. The potential areas of engagement could be seen as mutually beneficial to both sides and warrant greater effort towards sustained collaboration and communication between media in both India and Africa. The environment is now ripe to explore these opportunities and allow civil society to take the lead in creating them. This African journalist study tour to India could be seen as an initial first step towards strengthening these engagements. The media in Africa will also need to engage as an equal partner in these developments with India's media. As one African participant summed up, for African media "it is not about resources but rather attitude and approach".

Ms Hayley Herman is Programme Officer at the Emerging Powers in Africa Initiative, Fahamu.

© Emerging Powers in Africa Programme, Fahamu Cape Town 2011



China/Emerging Powers in Africa programme is a project of Fahamu, Networks for Social Justice
www.fahamu.org

COMMENTARY

Forging civil society cooperation: People-to-people exchanges within the FOCAC framework

By Xiao Yuhua

1. Contemporary Sino-African relationship lacks adequate civil society role

The present literature on Sino-African relations have excessively focused its attention on the diplomatic relations between the Middle Kingdom and African governments, featuring visits of state leaders coupled with massive business deals, the transforming multi-lateral relations/competition among Africa, China and traditional and emerging powers (US, EU, India, Brazil, South Africa, etc). Deals of state-owned enterprises, all kinds of loans and mega-infrastructure financed by state banks constantly make headlines in the media. Some commentators have categorized such relations as Chinese “colonization” of Africa or “China Inc.’s” venture into Africa.¹

However, the relationship between China and Africa is more multi-faceted and multi-layered than the media’s description. Besides the seemingly monolithic government-to-government visits, small- and medium-sized enterprises, NGOs, academics and other civil society players are playing an increasingly important role.² Over-emphasis on diplomatic and large-scale economic and trade relations, which attracts the spotlight, are distorting the healthy development of the new-type Sino-African relations in the making. To put it in another way, to ignore the relevance and importance of civil society actors in the rising relationship between China and Africa will engender various cultural misunderstandings, information disparities and conflicting interests, which are more often than not the causes of the disputes, accusations, scandals and sometimes rumors recurrent in contemporary Sino-African relations, as seen in the recent shooting incident in Zambia.³

2. Step up efforts within the FOCAC framework to facilitate active people-to-people exchanges and civil society cooperation

The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), which was launched in October 2000, was first aimed at boosting economic and trade cooperation between China and African countries. That is why the first FOCAC meeting had the dual themes of “How to set up the new international economic and political order in the 21st century” and “How to boost Sino-African economic and trade cooperation”. There was little mention of people-to-people exchanges at the first FOCAC

meeting.⁴ By the end of 2003, China cancelled CNY 10.5 billion of debts owned by 31 least developed countries in Africa, and cooperation in the fields of trade and investment, infrastructure, agriculture and human resources development were beginning to take off. However, between the first two FOCAC meetings from late 2000 to late 2003, people-to-people exchanges were negligible, the most significant of which were performance groups sent on government-funded trips to perform in African countries. The situation didn’t change too much by 2006, which marks the end of the follow-up period of the second FOCAC meeting. Performances and shows organized by Chinese and African governments were still cited as the main activities in people-to-people exchanges.⁵

It was only after the 2006 Beijing Summit of FOCAC that actual civil society/people-to-people cooperation/exchanges really happened. Earlier that year, China issued its African policy whitepaper, which pledges to “encourage and facilitate the exchanges between people’s organizations of China and Africa, especially the youth and women, with a view of increasing the understanding, trust and cooperation of people on both sides. It will encourage and guide Chinese volunteers to serve in African countries.”⁶ Besides the traditional performances and shows, over 60 African artists and officials were invited to China from 2007 to 2009, and the monthly magazine *Africa* was launched in 2009. By September 2009, 281 volunteers were dispatched to serve in Ethiopia, Seychelles, Zimbabwe, Tunisia, Mauritius, Eritrea, Liberia and Ghana. In early 2007, President Hu announced that China would invite 500 African youth representatives to visit China, and was accomplished in August 2009. The All China Women’s Federation has set up 5 women’s training and exchange centers in Lesotho, Djibouti, Sudan, Zimbabwe and Mauritius and has released the FOCAC Women’s Forum Declaration 2009 in partnership with the Egyptian National Women Committee. With the 29th Olympiad and 13th Paralympics held in Beijing in 2008, not only did African athletes competed impressively in the games, large numbers of African athletes, fans and people from all walks of life also came to Beijing and even travelled to more hinterland regions for travel, business and exchange purposes. Exchanges and cooperation in media also increased, with media practitioners visiting China and media stations exchanging broadcasting materials.⁷

3. FOCAC: A landmark in Sino-African civil society cooperation

According to the "Declaration of Sharm El Sheikh of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation" promulgated at the 4th FOCAC meeting held in Egypt in November 2009, China and African countries will work to "broaden exchanges and deepen people-to-people and cultural cooperation. Efforts will be made to promote exchanges in culture, education, science and technology, medical and health care, sports, tourism and other fields, and forge closer ties among young people, women, non-governmental organizations, media organizations and academic institutions of the two sides, with a view to enhancing mutual understanding and friendship between the Chinese and African peoples." This declaration is followed by one of eight new measures adopted by the Chinese government at the meeting, which states that the Chinese government will expand exchanges in the humanities, launch the China-Africa Joint Research and Exchange Program, boost communication and cooperation between academics and think-tanks, exchange development experiences to provide intellectual support for drafting better policies for cooperation.⁸

After FOCAC, the Ministry of Education and China Scholarship Council also launched programmes to support Chinese academics and language teachers at prestigious Chinese universities to go to African countries for research and

language training. More and more inspection and fact-finding teams are being sent from different ministries involved in China's Africa work to provinces with close economic and trade relations with Africa, foreign aid-implementing actors, academic institutions and relevant projects in African countries to check the output and impact of issues regarding Africa, and the role of civil society in the historically political relationship between China and Africa is receiving more and more attention. The government has now come to realize the value of civil society in expanding and deepening the present Sino-African relations, while on the other hand, civil society actors with a world vision also expect to engage Africa.

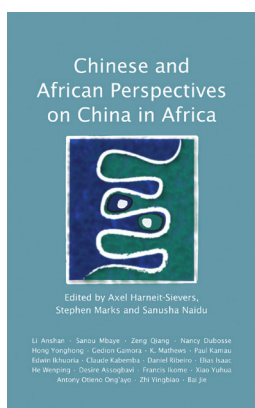
4. Post FOCAC: Better times ahead?

FOCAC has opened the space for more civil society cooperation/exchanges between China and Africa, however, up to now, not many civil society actors are well positioned to engage their counterparts with sound outcomes. The lack of information, both on the Chinese side and on the African side, is the biggest challenge to meaningful Sino-African civil society cooperation/exchanges.

At the first China-Africa Civil Society Dialogue in Nairobi organized by Heinrich Boell Foundation and Fahamu, ten Chinese academics and NGO representatives discussed issues of common concern around five major thematic areas: mutual perceptions between China and Africa; Chinese trade

Chinese and African Perspectives on China in Africa

Edited by Axel Harneit-Sievers, Stephen Marks and Sanusha Naidu



- Focuses on the dialogue between Chinese and African civil society organisations rather than states
- Provides new data and real insights into the burgeoning relationship between China and Africa
- Notable contributions from African and Chinese scholars and activists

The deepening engagement of China in Africa since the end of the cold war has led to debates about the evolving nature of this relationship. Yet the focus

of analysis has largely been confined to the interactions between states. Little attention has been paid to the growing dialogue between Chinese and African civil society organisations. This collection of essays, written by scholars and activists, explores the interaction between African and Chinese non-state actors and argues that the future of Africa-China relations rests on including such voices if a robust and vibrant engagement and a meaningful relationship are to be sustained. Chinese and African Perspectives on China in Africa assesses China's activities in Africa through patterns of investment, legal cooperation, effects on the environment, trade, aid and labour links, questions of peace, security and stability, the African Union response, possible regulatory interventions and the future strengthening of an Africa-China CSO dialogue.

Published 30 September 2010
Paperback GB pounds 16.95
978-1-906387-33-4

Pambazuka Press
51 Cornmarket Street
Oxford OX1 3HA, UK
Tel +44 (0)1865 727006
sales@pambazukapress.org
www.pambazukapress.org
Distributed in Europe by
Central Books Ltd
99 Wallis Road London E9 5LN
Tel +44 (0)20 8986 4854
Fax +44 (0)20 8533 5821
orders@centralbooks.com

Agent
Global Book Marketing
99B Wallis Road London E9 5LN
Tel +44 (0)20 8533 5800
info@globalbookmarketing.co.uk
Distributed in N America by
Michigan State University Press
1405 S. Harrison Road, Suite 25
East Lansing, MI 48823-5245
Tel +1 517 355 9543 ext. 100
Fax +1 517 432 7484
msupress.msu.edu



China/Emerging Powers in Africa programme is a project of Fahamu, Networks for Social Justice
www.fahamu.org



Order your copy from www.pambazukapress.org

and investment in Africa and their economic and environmental impacts; Chinese aid and financial policies; trade, labour and immigration issues and the role of civil society in Africa and China.⁹

The dialogue was followed by the second two-leg China-Africa Civil Society Dialogue held in Beijing and Jinhua, China in October 2010. Participants began to understand each other much better when talking about sharing development experiences and evaluating the role of local governments and private businesses in China's engagement with Africa. The significance of such a dialogue is that African civil society is now taking the initiative to reach out to their counterparts in China and vice versa to exchanges ideas and explore cooperation possibilities, a development in the direction of FOCAC pledges.

At the same time, the Chinese Ministry of Education and China Scholarship Council have also launched programmes to support Chinese academics and language teachers at prestigious Chinese universities to go to African countries for research and language training. More and more inspection and fact-finding teams from different ministries involved in China's Africa work are being sent to inspect and listen to voices from provinces with close economic and trade relations with Africa, foreign aid-implementing actors, academic institutions and relevant projects in African countries to check the output and impact of China's Africa policy/work regarding Africa, and civil society is being understood as a necessity for the sustainable development of Sino-African relations.

5. Three-layered Sino-African relationship: The status of people-to-people exchanges

Government-to-government relationships, although the core and most important aspect of international relations, is in the middle of a three-layered system. Above this bilateral relationship, less powerful countries are banding together in transnational (such as the UN), regional (such as the AU, EU, ASEAN) and sub-regional organizations (such as SADC, IGAD & COMESA) to defend and fight for their interests; while below this level, civil society actors are calling and acting for more people-to-people exchanges and inputs to protect and promote the interests and concerns of common citizens and groups affected by the rising

Sino-African relations featuring mainly government-to-government and eye-catching economic and trade relations.

Although less significant, there are more opportunities for relevant parties to promote people-to-people exchanges involving culture, sports, media and press sectors, academia and think-tanks, and youth and women groups, which will eventually deepen and expand the existing relationship between China and Africa.

Xiao Yuhua, PhD, is a lecturer at the Institute of African Studies, Zhejiang Normal University (IASZNU). Dr. Xiao received his PhD from Yunnan University in southwest China's Kunming City, Yunnan Province. His research interests include peace and security in the Horn of Africa and corporate social responsibility of Chinese companies in Africa. Dr Xiao can be reached at yhxiao1979@gmail.com

References:

- ¹ Ian Taylor & Xiao Yuhua, "A case of mistaken identity: 'China Inc.'s' and its 'imperialism' in Sub-Saharan Africa", *Asian Politics and Policy*, Volume 1, Number 4, 2009, pp. 709-725.
- ² Yazini April, "Civil society participation and China-Africa cooperation", *Pambazuka News*, <http://pambazuka.org/en/category/features/60701>;
- ³ Michelle Chen, "Zambia mine shooting blights Chinese 'development' in Africa", *In These Times*, October, 2010.
- ⁴ FOCAC, "Beijing Declaration of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation" & "Program for China-Africa Cooperation in Economic and Social Development", 2000.
- ⁵ See follow-up actions of FOCAC at <http://www.focac.org/>.
- ⁶ The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, *China's African Policy*, http://www.gov.cn/misc/2006-01/12/content_156490.htm.
- ⁷ See follow-up actions of FOCAC at <http://www.focac.org/>.
- ⁸ Wen Jiabao, "Comprehensively promoting the new-type Sino-African strategic partnership", speech at the opening ceremony of FOCAC, Sharm el Sheikh, November 8, 2009.
- ⁹ Axel Harneit-Sievers, Sanusha Naidu & Stephen Marks, "Introduction", in *Axel Harneit-Sievers et al. (eds.), Chinese and African perspectives on China in Africa*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2010.

Launch of the Change Online Platform

Fahamu in partnership with Society for International Development (SID) and the Swedish International Development and Cooperation Agency (SIDA) wishes to announce the launch of the Change website (www.fahamu.org/change).

The change site is an open platform for the Kenyan people and friends of Kenya to interact and share information.

The site is one of the outputs of the Change Conference held in October 2009 in Nairobi, and is aimed at increasing access to resources and encourage dialogue towards realizing change at the

national level be it through government institutions, NGOs or at the community level.

The site highlights activities taking place under the Change project of Fahamu including Citizens' Forums across Kenya and showcases documentaries including "Making Change" by Maina Kiai.

Everyone is invited to write articles to be posted on the blog as well as share your views on change in Kenya.

Please visit: <http://www.fahamu.org/change/>
Kindly forward your comments to patita@fahamu.org or paul@fahamu.org

REVIEWS

Methodological deficiencies in welcome contribution: Review of China and Congo: Friends in Need

By Johanna Jansson and Wenran Jiang

The recently released report *China and Congo: Friends in Need* by the watchdog organisation Global Witness analyses one of the most significant milestones of the emerging superpower's engagement with the African continent: the US\$ 6 billion Sicomines barter deal struck in 2007 between the government of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and a consortium of Chinese state-owned and private companies. The report provides a comprehensive overview of the agreement, outlining the context, background, details and controversies of huagang ('China-Congo', the Mandarin shorthand for the joint venture).

The report's critical points are by no means new: the arguments raised have been brought forward by Congolese opposition- and civil society actors, diplomats and international activists alike since 2007. However, the report synthesises the complex agreement and the debate in a pedagogical manner which has not been done before. Given its weight in the West as a respected human rights organisation, Global Witness reaches a broad audience. The report, available in English, French and Chinese language versions, provides readers outside of a narrow expert community with a detailed understanding of huagang, which is a novel and laudable effort.

With this authoritative position and the ability to influence opinion comes an analytical and methodological responsibility, which Global Witness does not fully shoulder in this case. While the report's recommendations are pertinent and the analysis of the developments around huagang thorough, a few methodological deficiencies leaves the reader with a feeling of not having been provided with a full version of this highly complex story.

Field research is always a thorny task, and the DRC is certainly no exception. While the Global Witness research team should be commended for having gone to the field to engage with the relevant stakeholders, some of the avenues pursued to secure access seem to have been fairly unproductive. There is no doubt that both the Congolese and Chinese stakeholders should share information about the agreement more openly. However, it is equally to be expected that a research team with a genuine ambition to understand a case as sensitive as this should have made greater efforts in order to access the stakeholders and the information at hand. Difficulties in securing access can, also in

the Congolese context, be mitigated by pursuing a fine-tuned networking strategy. This compromises the validity of the report's main claim: the lack of information available around the agreement.

The choice not to include an analysis of the contract amendments in a report released 18 months after the third and final amendment was signed raises further methodological question marks. Access to these documents was certainly limited in the early months following the signature, but by now it has been circulated in Kinshasa for a while. An assessment of the amendments would have strengthened Global Witness' case substantially, given that the contract analysis is such an important part of the report.

Part of Global Witness' commendable ambition is to inform an audience without expert knowledge. However, such an endeavour requires analytical framing in the form of appropriate background information, and as the report stands, readers without an in-depth understanding of the Congolese political environment are left hanging: what is the contextual backdrop for the argument? What is the usual modus operandi in terms of information sharing in the country's mining sector and in concessional finance-funded infrastructure projects? Is the secrecy around huagang an unfortunate exception or part of common practice?

While the planning and pricing of the infrastructure projects certainly are surrounded by opacity, procedural delays also form a part of the explanation why the details are not clear. The huagang portfolio is currently being scrutinised in Beijing by China's powerful National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), and it is only once the NDRC has approved of the calculated production capacity of the mine that the disbursement rate of the loans for the infrastructure projects will be determined. While Global Witness' job as an advocacy organisation indeed is to bring about debate and shape opinion around a specific, captivating argument or agenda, it could still afford to allow for such complexities to form a part of its analysis.

Lastly, the absence of Chinese inputs compromises the report's analytical weight. The above discussed absence of an appropriate networking strategy has resulted in a report which does not account for perceptions and explanations provided by Chinese respondents. The most salient example is the argument furthered by the report that the



China/Emerging Powers in Africa programme is a project of Fahamu, Networks for Social Justice
www.fahamu.org

Chinese party now has very little commercial risk (p. 6, English version). In our recent interviews, relevant Chinese stakeholders as well as Western diplomats have argued that the Chinese party is taking substantial risks with huagang. This is reportedly not purely a calculated move: even the Chinese party admits that their ambition to secure access to the concessions drove them to conclude an agreement in haste without first having conducted a more in-depth feasibility study.

An informed reader would now argue that this risk component is an integral part of all mining ventures, and that the Chinese party has secured the reimbursement of the infrastructure expenses contractually. Indeed, the Chinese party is most likely to come out of the venture with a great deal of profits, but it is still sensitive to the various risks involved with providing such large concessional loans to be reimbursed by means of income from a mining venture in a politically volatile environment. This is indeed part of the reason why China's NDRC is now conducting such a thorough assessment of the huagang portfolio before giving the project the final go-ahead. The absence of critical analysis of the insecurity experienced by the Chinese party

adds to the reader's impression that the report does not explore all the facets of the case.

On the whole, *China and Congo: Friends in Need* is a welcome contribution which does a very good job in explaining the complexities, controversies and challenges around the Sicomines agreement to a broader audience. But given the methodological deficiencies discussed in this review, it also needs to be read with a critical eye.

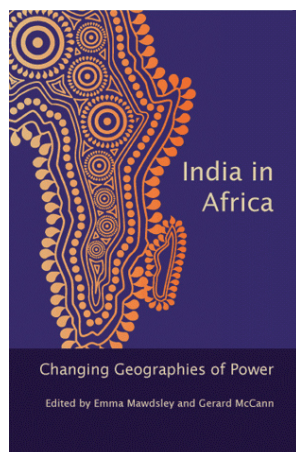
Johanna Jansson is a PhD candidate in International Development Studies at Roskilde University, Denmark. Wenran Jiang is Mactaggart Research Chair of the China Institute, University of Alberta, Canada. Jansson and Jiang are currently carrying out field work in the DRC.

The report mentioned above can be accessed at the following link: http://www.globalwitness.org/sites/default/files/library/friends_in_need_en_lr.pdf

The views expressed in this article are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Emerging Powers in Africa Initiative or Fahamu

India in Africa: Changing Geographies of Power

Edited by Emma Mawdsley & Gerard McCann



- A highly original book— one of the first to set out an extended analysis of contemporary India-African relations
- Enables readers to compare India to China and other 'Rising Powers' in Africa
- Written by expert authors from Africa, India and Europe
- Of interest to academic, civil society, policy and student readerships.

Major changes are taking place in the global economy and polity. While China's relationship to Africa is much examined, knowledge and analysis of India's role in Africa

has until now been limited but, as a significant global player, India's growing interactions with various African countries call for detailed analysis of the Asian giant's influence and its relations with the African continent.

In this original book, which enables readers to compare India to China and other 'rising powers' in Africa, expert African, Indian and western commentators draw on a collection of accessibly written case studies to explore inter-related areas including trade, investment, development aid, civil society relations, security and geopolitics.

Published 2011
 Paperback 978-1-906387-65-5
 GB pounds 16.95
 Ebook 978-1-906387-66-2
 GB pounds 12.95
 Pambazuka Press
 51 Cornmarket Street,
 Oxford OX1 3HA, UK
 Tel +44 (0)1865 727006
 sales@pambazukapress.org
 www.pambazukapress.org
 Distributed in Europe by
 Central Books Ltd
 99 Wallis Road London E9 5LN
 Tel +44 (0)20 8986 4854
 Fax +44 (0)20 8533 5821
 orders@centralbooks.com
 Agent
 Global Book Marketing
 99B Wallis Road London E9 5LN
 Tel +44 (0)20 8533 5800
 info@globalbookmarketing.co.uk
 Distributed in N America by
 Michigan State University Press
 1405 S. Harrison Road, Suite 25
 East Lansing, MI 48823-5245
 Tel +1 517 355 9543 ext. 100
 Fax +1 517 432 7484
 msupress.msu.edu



Order your copy from www.pambazukapress.org

LINKS, RESOURCES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Vacancy for PhD student

NETHERLANDS ORGANISATION FOR Scientific Research (NWO-WOTRO) funded project: Development as a Trojan Horse? Foreign Large-scale Land Acquisitions in Ethiopia, Madagascar and Uganda.

Start date: September 2011

Project description: The past decade has been characterized by an unprecedented rise in foreign, large-scale land acquisitions in Africa. While commonly presented as a development opportunity for national governments and local communities, such projects often trigger livelihood shifts, dislocation from ancestral lands and pervasive social, cultural, environmental, and economic changes. Impacts of land deals on local heritage-making, livelihood processes and ontologies anchored in land have yet to be fully measured.

While foreign land acquisitions have fundamentally altered power structures and relationships in host countries, analysts currently struggle to respond to these new paradigms with appropriate theoretical models. The project proposes a multidisciplinary, theoretically and methodologically innovative approach to examine the dynamics of poverty, sustainability and development within the context of foreign land acquisitions. The research will be empirically anchored in four comparative case studies: one in Ethiopia, two in Madagascar, and a fourth one, which will focus on a large-scale Chinese land acquisition project at a location to be defined.

We currently seek a PhD candidate for the fourth project. We are particularly interested in a case study on a Chinese land project in Uganda, but candidates interested in projects taking place in other countries are also encouraged to apply.

Profile of candidate: The PhD student will elaborate the theoretical and practical design of the project, carry out empirical fieldwork in Uganda, analyse data and publish papers in international scholarly journals; together, this will provide the basis for a PhD thesis, which is to be completed within four years. The PhD student should come from a developing country (DC). Developing countries include all low and middle-income non-EU countries that qualify for receiving Official Development Assistance (ODA), as defined by the OECD (see www.oecd.org/dac/stats/daclist) <<http://www.oecd.org/dac/stats/daclist>> .

Requirements:

- A master's degree in anthropology or another Social Science, Geography or History. Candidates with a substantial background in anthropology will be preferred.

- Fluency in English, Chinese, and the official language of the country in which the research will be carried out. Knowledge of the local language is an advantage.
- Experience with ethnographic research, preferably on topics such as globalisation, rural transformation and development.
- The ability and interest to operate in an international interdisciplinary research team.
- Excellent organisational skills.
- Proven academic writing skills in English.
- Wish to pursue an academic career.

*For further inquiries please contact Dr Sandra J.T.M. Evers (VU University Amsterdam)
E-mail: s.j.t.m.Evers@vu.nl*

Recent Publications and New Reports**South-South Cooperation: India, Africa and Food Security: Between the Summits**

10-11 January 2011

Conference Report: Summary Points

The conference on South-South Cooperation (SSC): India, Africa and Food Security: Between the Summits, was organized in collaboration with Nordic Africa Institute (Uppsala, Sweden) and the World Trade Centre with support from the Ministry of External Affairs (Government of India) and the South-South Cooperation Unit (UNDP, New York). The India-Africa Framework for Cooperation, adopted at the end of the India-Africa Forum Summit April 9, 2008, at New Delhi, identified the development of sustainable agriculture as a key priority in the burgeoning partnership between India and Africa. "Africa and India agree that agricultural development is an effective approach to ensure food security, eradicating poverty and improve peoples' livelihood, and agree to strengthen Africa and India cooperation in this sector in order to improve the food security of Africa and to increase its exports to world markets," said the joint statement.

The framework envisaged cooperation in, among other things, capacity building and sharing of experience in policy analysis and planning relating to the agriculture sector; cooperation in water resource management and irrigation practices, agro-infrastructure development, transfer of applied agricultural technology and skills transfer;



China/Emerging Powers in Africa programme is a project of Fahamu, Networks for Social Justice
www.fahamu.org

and cooperation to combat agro-based diseases.

Given the significance of the theme, the academic event brought together people from the field of academics, politics, business, government and civil society, from countries in Africa and across. The speakers from varied backgrounds presented plural perspectives which made for rich discussion and debate. It is essential to hear and value divergent views to understand one's shortcoming if any, at a time when Indian investors in the agriculture and related sectors are making a foray into Africa and trying to carve for themselves a niche market.

Diplomats at the event provided the official views of nations on matters like foreign investment in agriculture in Africa and issues related to food security and highlighted the need for mutual-cooperation for mutual benefit, a 'win-win' situation between India and countries in Africa. The private sector business houses narrated their 'African experiences' and shared how their experience in both India and Africa can be used to develop new solutions in the field of agriculture and related sectors that benefits agriculture on the continent and their business initiatives such that the emerging partnership exhibits an optimistic scenario for the future.

The scholarly papers presented at the conference touched upon themes spanning a number of disciplines that cut across; history, gender studies, politics, media, economics, sociology and development studies. The conference provided an opportunity for dialogue between parties that held diametrically opposing views on a number of issues related to land and agriculture and the phenomenon of alleged 'land grabbing' by foreign firms, including Indian companies, which has been controversial in the past and continues to be hotly debated.

The conference proceedings aims to offer policy oriented solutions and provide for better informed investments and improved relationships between the countries of the global South as we move into the next decade. The research papers that were presented will be compiled in a publication that will fill in the academic gap/literature on the subject of Indian investments in agriculture in Africa.

Complete conference report available at:
<http://www.indiaafricconnect.in/africa%20quarterly/Conference.pdf>

China and Congo: Friends in Need

Report by Global Witness, 8 March 2011

Report can be accessed at:
http://www.globalwitness.org/sites/default/files/library/friends_in_need_en_lr.pdf

La Chine et le Congo: Des amis dans le besoin

Report by Global Witness, 8 March 2011

Report can be accessed at:
http://www.globalwitness.org/sites/default/files/library/friends_in_need_fr_lr_0.pdf

Evolving India-Africa Relations: Continuity and Change

Written by Ruchita Beri, SAIIA Occasional Paper No 76, February 2011

Occasional Paper can be accessed at:
http://www.saiia.org.za/images/stories/pubs/occasional_papers/saia_sop_76_beri_20110222.pdf

Before and Beyond Energy: Contextualising the India-Africa Partnership

Written by Devika Sharma and Swati Ganeshan, SAIIA Occasional Paper No 77, February 2011

Occasional Paper can be accessed at:
http://www.saiia.org.za/images/stories/pubs/occasional_papers/saia_sop_77_sharma_ganeshan_20110224.pdf

Africa and the Geopolitics of the Indian Ocean

Written by Frank van Rooyen, SAIIA Occasional Paper 78, February 2011

Occasional Paper can be accessed at: http://www.saiia.org.za/images/stories/pubs/occasional_papers/saia_sop_78_vanrooyen_20110225.pdf

India and Africa: Towards a Sustainable Energy Partnership

Written by Shebonti Ray Dadwal, SAIIA Occasional Paper 75, February 2011

Occasional Paper can be accessed at: http://www.saiia.org.za/images/stories/pubs/occasional_papers/saia_sop_75_dadwal_20110222.pdf

India in Africa: Implications of an Emerging Power for AFRICOM and U.S. Strategy

By Dr. J. Peter Pham, Strategic Studies Institute, Monograph, 9 March 2011

Monograph can be accessed at:
<http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=1051>

Engaging with China in Africa- Trilateral Cooperation as an Option?

By Sven Grimm, Centre for Chinese Studies, Stellenbosch University, EDC 2020 Policy Brief No 9, February 2011

Policy Brief can be accessed at:
<http://www.edc2020.eu/112.0.html>

Land deals in Africa: What is in the contracts?

By Lorenzo Cotula, International Institute for

Environment and Development (UK), February 2011

Report can be accessed at:
<http://pubs.iied.org/12568IIED.html>

Overseas investments by Chinese national oil companies: Assessing the drivers and impacts

By Julie Jiang and Jonathan Sinton, International Energy Agency, Information Paper, February 2011

Paper can be accessed at:
http://www.iea.org/papers/2011/overseas_china.pdf

The New Colonization of Africa, BRIC-style

Article available at: <http://www.globaltrends.com/component/content/article/56/121-the-new-colonization-of-africa-bric-style>

Pambazuka News

PAN-AFRICAN VOICES FOR FREEDOM AND JUSTICE

- innovative and influential weekly newsletter
- a platform for voices that challenge mainstream perceptions
- politics, current affairs, development, human rights, refugees, gender issues, culture...
- commentary and analysis by a pan-African community of over 1,500 who hold their governments to account
- read by 500,000



Read it on www.pambazuka.org or sign up to have it emailed weekly



Pambazuka News has, in the short time of its existence, carved a niche for itself as an important forum where Africans talk frankly among themselves and reflect on the condition of their continent and its place in the new global order.

Dr Ike Okonta, Department of Politics, University of Oxford

Pambazuka News is published by Fahamu www.fahamu.org Fahamu Ltd & Fahamu Trust: 2nd floor 51 Cornmarket Street Oxford OX1 3HA, UK. Fahamu Trust is registered as a charity 1100304. Fahamu Ltd is a company limited by guarantee 4241054.



China/Emerging Powers in Africa programme is a project of Fahamu, Networks for Social Justice
www.fahamu.org



Through the voices of the peoples of Africa and the global South, Pambazuka Press and Pambazuka News disseminate analysis and debate on the struggle for freedom and justice.

Africa-China Comparative Research Group on Land and Development (ACRELAD)

1) Goal:

ACRELAD strives to provide socially inclusive and environmentally sustainable strategies for the creation of appropriate pro-poor social institutions at both local, regional and international levels to facilitate models of social and political change in Africa where China's development experiences and influences are relevant through multi-stakeholder lesson-learning, engagement and cooperation in research, networking, advocacy and policy advisory support. This will also contribute to an enhanced understanding of the roles of other emerging powers in Africa.

2) Objectives:

To coordinate and facilitate research programmes that reveal the current dilemma, assess the risks and address the opportunities and constraints for community-led land and natural resource management, governance and development in Africa in the context of rising Chinese investments in Africa's agricultural land;

To coordinate and facilitate comparative research programmes on Africa-China in terms of development theory, practice and trajectories related to land and development;

To contribute to the enhanced understanding of Africa-China relations and the political economy of development cooperation;

To contribute to capacity building of local communities and institutions in their engagements with Chinese investors, developers and other stakeholders;

To foster sharing of Africa-China related information, experiences and lesson-learning on land reform, development and natural resource governance issues among the members and the wider public.

3) Outputs:

- Articles and relevant debates to be published through Fahamu's Emerging Powers in Africa Newsletter "Perspectives on Emerging Powers in Africa"
- Scientific publications: working papers, reports, journal articles and books
- Networking activities: meetings, seminars, workshops, conferences, websites, etc.
- Professional training of researchers, practitioners, decision-makers and graduates in land and development related issues of Africa-China from comparative perspectives
- Policy advisory support to relevant institutions

4) Call for members:

Open to professionals with interest in the subject areas; timeline to be made
Seeking strong support of key actors
A preparatory workshop envisaged in June 2011 in an African country

5) Coordination:

Dr. Yongjun Zhao, Assistant Professor, Groningen Centre for Law and Governance, University of Groningen, The Netherlands, with the support of Fahamu.

Tel: +31616877358;

Email: yongjun.zhao@yahoo.com



Emerging Powers in Africa programme is a project of Fahamu

www.fahamu.org

UK office:

2nd floor, 51 Cornmarket Street, Oxford OX1 3HA

Tel: +44 (0)1865 727006 Fax: +44 (0)1865 727909 Email: info@fahamu.org

Fahamu Ltd company limited by guarantee no. 4241054 Fahamu Trust registered charity no. 1100304

Fahamu Kenya:

PO Box 47158, 00100 GPO, Nairobi, Kenya

Tel: +254 (0)20 3749346 Email: infokenya@fahamu.org

Fahamu Ltd registered in Kenya no. F15/2006

Fahamu SA Trust:

c/o 27A Esher St,

Claremont, 7708, Cape Town, South Africa

Tel: +27 21 683 1613 Email: info@fahamu.org.za Fahamu SA Trust registered in South Africa no. IT372/01

Fahamu Senegal:

9 Cité Sonatel 2, POB 25021, Dakar-Fann, Dakar, Senegal

Tel/fax: +221 867 50 65 Email: infosenegal@fahamu.org